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President: Mr. Víctor A. BELAUNDE (Peru).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. KREISKY (Austria): Mr. President, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to offer you the sincere congratulations of the Austrian delegation on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. Your distinguished record in international affairs and your profound understanding of the problems which beset the world today clearly make this a most auspicious choice.

2. Let me also pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, to whose brilliant leadership this Organization owes so much.

3. Austria is not a large country; our contribution to the solution of world-wide problems is necessarily a modest one. It is nevertheless incumbent upon us to do our part and to state our views before this Assembly.

4. Everywhere the question is now being discussed whether a summit meeting might assure the world of peaceful development. There have been frequent warnings against too much optimism on that score—warnings that may be well justified. It may be useful to recall, however, that there have been some fruitful high-level conferences in the past. The Berlin Foreign Ministers' Conference of 1954, for instance, while it did not succeed in solving the German question, paved the way for a settlement of Austria's case; and, at the same Conference, agreement was reached on the convocation of the Geneva talks which eventually led to a termination of military conflict in Indo-China. Finally, in 1955, the four-Power Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Vienna restored Austria to sovereignty by giving her the State Treaty.

5. There was a marked thaw of the political climate at that time. Austria joined the United Nations and thus affirmed her intention to take part in the solution of the political problems of our time—whether they be her immediate concern or not.

6. Our time is overshadowed by the threat of the staggering destructive power given into human hands.

We therefore consider the agreement reached between the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States concerning a temporary suspension of nuclear weapons tests a step towards the solution of mankind's most urgent problem. We hope that a world-wide accord on a permanent cessation of such tests will soon be effected—a hope in which we have been greatly encouraged by the auspicious results achieved so far.

7. The Austrian Government welcomes the prospect of the spirit of conciliation asserting itself at last. And it welcomes the decision to make Vienna the headquarters of the control organ concerned with the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests.

8. I should also avail myself of this opportunity to express, in the name of the Austrian Government, my sincere appreciation for this decision to the Governments of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and to declare that Austria will make all the necessary provisions for the establishment of an institution of such world-wide importance.

9. There is yet another recent decision which appears to confirm our cautious optimism: it is the appointment of a ten-Power Committee on disarmament which will convene early next year in Geneva. We are happy to see the initiative taken by the United Nations thus come to fruition; and we trust that the final decision will be left to the United Nations as the ultimate competent authority in this field.

10. Austria, needless to say, has full confidence in the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes, a principle fully relevant to the question that ranks among the highest of our foreign affairs, namely, the question of the South Tyrol, whose cultural and economic development must be safeguarded and whose ethnic substance must be preserved. Clearly this is a problem which can only be solved in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, whose aim it is, in conformity with the principle of justice and international law, to bring peaceful means to bear on the settlement of international disputes, and to develop friendly relations among nations.

11. I should like briefly to state our case. The Saint-Germain Treaty of 1919 severed the southern part of the Tyrol from Austria and made it part of Italy. The South Tyrol now is a territory of 2,869 square miles with a population of roughly a quarter million Tyrolese. Under the Fascist régime, South Tyrol suffered the consequences of a sustained campaign of de-nationalization—even the children were prevented from receiving instruction in their own language—and finally, in 1939, an agreement between the two dictatorships led to the displacement of ten thousand families. After the end of World War II, all attempts to find an equitable solution of the problem of the South Tyrol ended in failure. I should like to stress in this context that it was not only Austria which considered this state of affairs unjust and, indeed, untenable. For instance, an "Italian Manifesto" appeared in the American Press

as early as 1944; it was signed by prominent political leaders, scientists and artists, among them Randolfo Pacciardi, Professor Giuseppe Borghese, Professor Gaetano Salvemini, and Arturo Toscanini. In this manifesto it was even suggested that Italy relinquish her control over the ethnic minorities in the extreme north and north-east of her territory.

12. In 1946, Italy and Austria reached an agreement which, it was then hoped, would assure the South Tyrol a cultural and economic development unhampered by restrictions. This agreement which, as annex IV, is a part of the 1947 Treaty of Peace with Italy, expressly provides for "special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development" ^{1/} of the South Tyrol; it also grants this minority group autonomous legislative and executive powers. And yet, the correct interpretation of this agreement has been subject to differences between the Governments of Italy and Austria ever since.

13. Let me briefly summarize the situation in the South Tyrol. There can be no doubt that, compared with the Fascist era, the South Tyrol is now relatively free of restrictions in the cultural field. The social and economic area, however, presents a different picture. Here the situation is indeed serious. Let me say at once that the South-Tyrolese are an extremely vital ethnic group. Yet the present practice of the administration undermines the very foundations of their existence on their native soil. It discriminates against them when they look for employment; and, as far as housing is concerned, it may be apposite to point out that only 7 per cent of the apartments built with Government aid in the South Tyrol have been made available to its indigenous inhabitants. This is indeed a gross and incomprehensible discrimination; it has compelled many thousands of young South-Tyrolese to emigrate.

14. The South Tyrol problem which, of course, remains a national question, is increasingly becoming a social and an economic concern. It is one of the more tragic aspects of the problem that, in a court of law, a South-Tyrolese will probably be faced with a judge with whom he cannot communicate in his own language. Among those to whom jurisdiction over the South Tyrol—with a population of a quarter million—is entrusted, there are only five South-Tyrolese judges. The parliamentary representatives of the South Tyrol have repeatedly sought redress of this utterly unsatisfactory state of affairs; they have also submitted a draft bill outlining the proper autonomous status for the region of South Tyrol.

15. In their draft bill, the representatives of the South Tyrol insist on their people's right to use their own language in public life, to claim their share in public office in proportion to their population, and, finally, to create conditions requisite to the equality of opportunity in their daily lives, paying particular attention to housing and employment. The Austrian Government cannot but endorse these just aspirations. Clearly, the only way to implement the agreement, in spirit as well as in fact, is to create an autonomous Province of Bozen. Indeed, is there any other way of assuring an ethnic minority its full democratic rights than to grant it self-administration? It is only thus that an ethnic minority may claim to profit from the principle inherent in the Magna Charta of modern democracy, the

Declaration of Independence, according to which Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

16. In the true spirit of the Paris Treaty, the Austrian Government will continue to claim its proper share in the implementation of that international agreement. Should, however, bilateral negotiations not succeed in creating conditions satisfactory for a minority of 250,000 in a nation of almost 50 million, Austria will have no alternative but to appeal to the United Nations to put this question on its agenda at the earliest possible moment.

17. It is quite evident that it is neither spite nor hostility against our Italian neighbour that compel us to state the case of South Tyrol. Indeed, how could we have hostile feelings against a nation with which, for many centuries, we have been bound by mutual ties of commerce and trade, a nation whose abundant spiritual heritage has greatly enriched our own culture?

18. It is, let me repeat, not enmity which motivates our step, but the responsibility which rests upon us. It is, moreover, the restlessness of thousands of young people of the South Tyrol, who want to plan their future and to shape their lives, as young people do elsewhere in the world. Nothing divides us from our Italian neighbour but this open question. If a solution can be found which the South-Tyrolese can accept, new avenues of fruitful co-operation would be opened up in our part of Europe.

19. Mr. TURBAY AYALA (Colombia) (translated from Spanish): Both as the representative of a democratic Government and as spokesman for a Latin American country, I am proud that a statesman from our continent should preside over this year's session of the General Assembly. I wish to congratulate both Peru and Mr. Belaúnde on the honour which has been bestowed on them.

20. The debate which annually takes place in the General Assembly is a living and eloquent example of the juridical equality of nations. Regardless of the intrinsic importance of the countries taking part in it, this debate enables all nations to place their views on the scales of world destiny. My country thus takes part in the consideration of the international situation solely by reason of its simple and worthy credential as a State Member of the United Nations.

21. Conscious of its technological and military limitations, Colombia does not intend to overstep the bounds of discretion by presenting plans or programmes that would be more appropriately set forth by those Powers whose arsenals contain the destructive weapons placed in their hands by the scientists.

22. The views which I voice here are designed solely to express the desire for understanding of a country which believes that it can best contribute to the cause of peace by conforming, in its conduct, to the principles of the Charter.

23. In our opinion, it is particularly important that, when hopes for peace and freedom are voiced, what is said should be supported by the example set by the countries on whose behalf they are expressed. The internal conduct of nations cannot be separated from their external attitudes. It is unreasonable, to say the least, to advocate the international application of standards which are not enforced at the national level.

^{1/}United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950), p. 184.

24. Fortunately, my country has no problem of conscience, and can speak in this Assembly with full moral authority on the subject of respect for the basic principles of this world Organization. In Colombia, the Government is genuinely popular and democratic in origin, and freedom of expression is curtailed by no abusive limitations. Not only do the political parties exist peacefully together, but there is wholesome and harmonious co-operation between them, which has helped the Republic to reconstruct its traditional institutions and to create an atmosphere conducive to peace.

25. Colombia, however, has a problem which is common to twenty countries in this hemisphere and to at least 1,500 million human beings living in various parts of the globe. It is a serious situation, which should be faced with courage and determination. Its treatment, unfortunately, is not dependent solely on action by the countries which suffer from it. I refer to economic under-development, the disruptive potentialities of which none would presume to deny.

26. Other measures adopted to ensure peace will have little effect if the peoples' distress and social difficulties, cannot be quickly relieved. Colombia has no hesitation in stigmatizing economic under-development as the most formidable enemy of political stability and international peace, and in regarding want as the most deplorable and repulsive dictatorship ever experienced by man. The explosive power of want is comparable to that of nuclear weapons themselves, and therefore calls for immediate and effective solution. No less urgent and important than a policy of disarmament is action to avert the series of disasters which economic under-development brings in its train.

27. The United Nations cannot, of course, at any time neglect political problems or the situations arising from the overwhelming pressure daily exerted by developments in the fields of nuclear energy and the knowledge of cosmic space; but no less certainly must it pay special attention to the study of formulae for economic co-operation and technical assistance that will enable the backward peoples to raise their levels of living.

28. Colombia, which has drawn its spiritual sustenance from the springs of Christianity and resolutely adheres to all the values which go to make up Western civilization, appreciates that within the system of private enterprise and political freedom it is feasible to work towards objectives of justice which will avoid inequalities and the possibility that poverty may create social problems leading to unimagined consequences. We do not propose any change in the present system, but we suggest, rather, some rearrangement which will enable it to continue along the civilizing path of its destiny. It has been stated—and these are no empty words—that the concept of peace is inseparable from the concepts of freedom, security and well-being.

29. The greatest contribution which can be made to the ultimate victory of democracy is undoubtedly that which can be made to economic development, so that the peoples may be brought to enjoy the benefits of civilization and maintain a level of living commensurate with the supreme dignity of the human being. The cause of peace will always be better served by those peoples whose paths to the future are not obstructed by insurmountable economic obstacles.

30. At the risk of being repetitive, I would like to stress Colombia's view that the battle against poverty

is an urgent necessity for the purpose of strengthening social peace. It may be worth stating that the effort to change conditions in the economically backward and socially dissatisfied countries calls for less financial investment and technical endeavour than has been put into service in order to place within the peoples' reach, as a cursed legacy of science, the terrible weapons of destruction controlled by certain nations at the present time.

31. We are aware that the United Nations is assigning due importance to economic problems and has already taken certain steps along a road which must be covered in its entirety. It might be possible to consider some resolution which would commit countries to provide for economic development sums at least equivalent to those that they are investing in the mad race for armaments.

32. It is clear that the American countries as a whole are making heroic and self-sacrificing efforts to equip themselves for the battle against economic stagnation. Certainly the establishment of the Inter-American Bank, which will begin operations next year, is a step in the right direction from the standpoint of our prosperity. Naturally, we do not believe that its capital will suffice to effect a complete transformation of living conditions in Latin America, although it is our firm conviction that this institution, gradually receiving greater contributions, is destined to produce good results. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development must be regarded as one of the many possible sources of help for Latin American countries.

33. We need technical assistance and economic co-operation in order to achieve social tranquillity and to make a better contribution to international peace. Therefore, the concept should be clearly established that nations in the position of mine seek and accept, not charity, but assistance. Latin America is able to return, in ample measure, the help which is being given to it at the present time. We are convinced that the countries of this continent, if timely aid is provided, will be able to fulfil their historic mission and render unflagging service to the basic principles of freedom and peace.

34. Brazil, which is fully aware of the grave problem constituted by the contrast between the rapid growth in population and the slow economic progress characteristic of most countries in this hemisphere, has reappraised our needs and proposed a programme of achievement known as "Operation Pan-America".

35. We cannot be indifferent to the fate of this salutary initiative, which we are all interested in promoting and seeing fully implemented. On behalf of Colombia I proclaim our support of the idea which the President of Brazil, Mr. Kubitschek, has expounded so ably and in a spirit of service which the rest of us deeply appreciate.

36. It might not be out of place to stress the importance which the peoples of America attach to spiritual values and to respect for the dignity of the human person. In this connexion we would mention, as a step forward, the conclusions reached at the meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Santiago, Chile, where we affirmed that the support of peace in America required an active combination of democracy, respect for the principle of non-intervention, the defence and application of human rights, and the economic security of the individual. As can be seen, we, the nations of the

Western Hemisphere, have used our regional organization to surround our peoples with an atmosphere of genuine spiritual independence and unbreakable political security.

37. Obviously, my country fully supports the Powers responsible for maintaining and defending Western civilization. We have no difficulty in committing ourselves on this matter and stating that such a stand is in line with long-established doctrinal convictions, which fortunately enjoy abundant support from public opinion in our nation.

38. Colombia has always believed, and has so stated on other occasions, that if the Latin American countries decided to co-ordinate their efforts they would undoubtedly be able to play a historic role of very extensive proportions in the United Nations. The numerical importance of these countries enables them to play a more significant part in major international decisions. We are the greatest combination of nations linked together by the ties of a common language, united by the same religious beliefs, and defending the same spiritual and political values.

39. The opportunities which language, geography and history have extended to the Latin American nations are exceptional factors making for the achievement of political unity on the international plane. But we have not made adequate use of these advantages and have preferred to act on the basis of an individualistic outlook, instead of being guided by the principle of continental understanding.

40. It is far from Colombia's intentions to propose to the other American countries an exclusive type of alliance or a plan in any way limiting their full freedom of action. Its proposal is simply that the countries of this hemisphere be asked to tighten their international links, to improve their sources of information, to bear their own importance well in mind, and to exercise a more active and direct influence in the consideration of world problems. It depends entirely on us whether we act as a force capable of decision or proceed on an individualistic basis, supporting the plans of others without making any decisions of our own. In the last analysis, it is a question of which of these two verbs—"support" or "decide"—the Latin American countries prefer to conjugate.

41. Nobody can deny that we are peace-loving peoples and that we therefore seek to settle disputes by reasoning, persuasion and other peaceful means. Perhaps this policy arises from our conviction that this is the field in which we can make our maximum contribution towards harmony among the nations.

42. Colombia has growing confidence in the effectiveness of direct contacts between statesmen, and does not conceal its satisfaction at those now being established between the representatives of the two greatest world Powers of all time. Undoubtedly, the exchange of visits between Mr. Khrushchev, Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Nixon represents a happy step in the path towards cordial relations, in that it does something more than merely provide evidence of the antagonism between the two countries, which are quite rightly regarded as giants in the fields of science, economy, peace and war.

43. It would be naïve to assume that these actions alone can bring order to this turmoil-ridden world of ours; but it would equally be foolish to deny that such contacts relieve the international atmosphere and create a better psychological climate for understanding.

44. Many benefits can flow from a better mutual understanding between two worlds which have remained closed to each other by the will of one of them, and which are only now, at the highest level, seeking once more the "rapprochement" which was interrupted after both had battled memorably against the combined forces of Nazism and Fascism.

45. May these conversations be as successful as those which took place between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Stalin, and may they serve to shield the world from the unspeakable dangers of the atomic war which the monumental loser of the Second World War had himself planned!

46. It is to be hoped that the talks which have begun may be extended to include the leaders of the other nuclear Powers, since the latter bear inescapable responsibilities and must make a decisive contribution to the maintenance of harmony among the peoples.

47. The unarmed countries, like the one I represent, have placed great hope in the new and promising phase of relationships between East and West. Our concern is understandable because the small nations, like the big ones, nearly always experience all the horrors of any war.

48. It may be well for me to record Colombia's conviction that the world must in no circumstances consent to a third world war. If nuclear weapons were employed, the world would revert to the first night of Genesis, and the few survivors—if indeed there were any at all—would merely serve as witnesses of the apocalyptic tragedy which it is incumbent upon every one of us to prevent.

49. Colombia is convinced that, on the American continent and throughout the rest of the world, the principle of non-intervention should be respected by all countries. We have seen that intervention does not always take the clear-cut form of a frontal attack, but often, as the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Taboada, has observed, proceeds by diplomatic infiltration. Good relations between nations must undoubtedly have, as a prime feature, genuine respect for the peoples' domestic affairs; in regard to these, diplomatic or consular agents may be spectators, but not actors. When the bounds of discretion are overstepped and the systems devised by countries to strengthen their friendship are used for other purposes, diplomatic relations are thwarted in their very nature and become superfluous in cases where such offences are detected.

50. Colombia has maintained a policy of friendship with all countries, and of consistent respect for all Governments. Accordingly, and to the extent which it deemed necessary, it has extended its diplomatic and commercial relations. To protect our economy, we have had to reach understandings with the countries which also produce our main export commodity; and this fact makes us realize that we cannot take a narrow view of any problem, but that all questions must be examined in the light of their international implications.

51. My country knows that discriminatory practices are not conducive to the expansion of foreign trade, and has therefore stated that it is prepared to sell its products to any who wish to buy them, on a basis of equality for all and favouritism for none.

52. Colombia has also expounded and given effect to a policy of international co-operation for the purpose of protecting the prices of its basic products, and it is

therefore prepared to examine, with the representatives of the countries concerned, effective plans for checking over-production in these commodities and for regulating the world market.

53. We have always believed that the influence of the United Nations should be felt throughout the widest possible area of opinion, and we therefore trust that before long conditions will be created such as will enable the maximum number of States to join the world Organization. Matters are gradually moving in this direction, and everything suggests that this favourable trend will continue until the day comes when all countries are in a position to serve the cause of peace within the framework of the United Nations.

54. We have faith in a prosperous future for humanity; and, within our limited capacity, we wish to serve the interests of peace, so that the coming generations will have no cause to disown the leaders of the present generation and will have opportunities of enriching the world with the invaluable gifts of their intelligence and their knowledge. Fortunately, the threat of war is receding, and everything seems to indicate that reason will triumph in its present contest with brute force.

55. These are the views of a country which respects law, has faith in spiritual values, trusts in democracy, and is equally attached to freedom and to peace.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda

FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE (A/4214)

56. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): The second item of the agenda of this meeting deals with the adoption of the agenda of the fourteenth regular session, the allocation of the agenda items, and the organization of the session.

57. In that connexion, the Assembly has before it the first report of the General Committee [A/4214]. There are also amendments submitted by Nepal [A/L.261], which I shall place before the Assembly for consideration when we come to paragraphs 7 and 8 of the General Committee's report.

58. In paragraph 2 of its report, the General Committee approved a suggestion by the Secretary-General that resolution 730 I (XXVIII) of the Economic and Social Council concerning technical assistance in the field of narcotics should be considered under item 12 by the Third Committee.

59. In paragraph 3, the General Committee stated that it also approved a suggestion by the Secretary-General that resolution 731 G (XXVIII) of the Economic and Social Council concerning advisory social welfare services should be considered by the Fifth Committee in connexion with item 12 of the agenda.

60. In paragraph 4, the General Committee informs the Assembly that it approved a suggestion by the Secretary-General that the question of economic assistance to Somalia be examined in connexion with item 13.

61. The General Committee had also approved the suggestion by the Secretary-General, mentioned in paragraph 5, that item 63 relating to proposed amendments to certain provisions of the Pension Scheme

Regulations of the International Court of Justice be referred to the Fifth Committee, on the understanding that the Fifth Committee would seek the advice of the Sixth Committee on the questions of policy involved before considering the item.

62. If there are no objections, I shall consider that the Assembly approves the suggestions of the Secretary-General contained in paragraphs 2 to 5 of the first report of the General Committee.

It was so decided.

63. Paragraph 6 of the report merely informs the Assembly that the representative of India was invited to sit with the members of the General Committee when it discussed the recommendation to be made with regard to item 60 of the provisional agenda (Question of the representation of China in the United Nations).

64. In paragraphs 7 and 8, the General Committee reports the action taken with regard to this question, which India proposed should be included in the agenda. The draft resolution which the General Committee recommends for adoption by the Assembly appears in paragraph 7 of its report. The result of the vote on this draft resolution is given in paragraph 8.

65. Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to the amendments which Nepal has submitted to the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee [A/4214, para. 7].

66. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): Mr. President, since it is my delegation's first intervention in the deliberations of this session, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you on your unanimous and well deserved election to the high office of the Presidency of the General Assembly. Your long association with the work of the United Nations, your long experience in diplomacy, combined with your intrinsic merit, amply qualify you for the post you now hold. My delegation has no doubt that under your wise and able guidance the fourteenth session of the General Assembly will be able to accomplish the task that has been assigned to it.

67. Once again the General Assembly is confronted with the probability of the rejection of the request of the delegation of India for the inclusion of the item entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations". Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the first report of the General Committee [A/4214] show that the General Committee has recommended the rejection of the Indian request and postponement of the consideration of this question indefinitely.

68. The amendments which my delegation has the honour to propose [A/L.261] relate to the draft resolution contained in paragraph 7 of the General Committee's report. Before I express my views on the Committee's recommendation that the request to include the item entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations" be rejected, I should like to point out that paragraph 2 of the draft resolution is not in conformity with the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. In this connexion, I have rule 40 of our rules of procedure specifically in mind. In the opinion of my delegation, paragraph 2 of the draft resolution clearly goes beyond the mandate given the General Committee by the said rule. For this reason we have asked for the deletion of that paragraph of the draft resolution in our second amendment. Paragraph 1 of the draft resolution demands rejection of the

request of the Government of India for the inscription of the item entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations". Our first amendment asks for the replacement of the word "reject" by the words "accede to".

69. May I say that the request of the Government of India is merely with regard to the inclusion of an item. This request does not even raise the question of the seating or unseating of a particular set of representatives. The question is merely whether the Assembly can take up the discussion of an item as such. My delegation is fully aware of the fact that the issue before us is one on which Member States hold conflicting views. In view of the importance of this issue my delegation deems it its duty to make the situation as clear as possible to the Assembly.

70. I crave the indulgence of the Assembly to refer briefly to the history of this item in the United Nations. It is well known that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China was proclaimed on 1 October 1949. In communications dated 18 November 1949, addressed to the President of the fourth session of the General Assembly, as well as to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the then Foreign Minister of China, Mr. Chou En-lai, demanded that the credentials of the so-called Nationalist China be not recognized by the United Nations as it no longer had the right to speak for and represent the Chinese people. No action, however, was taken on this request. Subsequently, a draft resolution demanding the recognition of the People's Government of the Republic of China was rejected by the Security Council in January 1950. Later in the same year, Mr. Trygve Lie, the then Secretary-General, put out a well-thought-out memorandum on the legal aspects raised by the question of representation in the United Nations, with a view to solving this question. His memorandum of 9 March 1950^{2/} laid down that "the principle of numerical preponderance of recognition is inappropriate and legally incorrect". The memorandum further stated that:

"From the standpoint of legal theory, the linkage of representation in an international organization and recognition of a government is a confusion of two institutions which have superficial similarities but are essentially different."

and added:

"It is submitted that the proper principle can be derived by analogy from Article 4 of the Charter."

Article 4 of the Charter stipulates that an applicant for membership must be able and willing to carry out the obligations of membership.

71. Secretary-General Trygve Lie's memorandum clearly implies that the obligation of membership can be carried out only by Governments which in fact possess the power to do so. I quote further from this same memorandum:

"Where a revolutionary government presents itself as representing a State, in rivalry to an existing government, the question at issue should be which of these two governments in fact is in a position to employ the resources and direct the people of the State in fulfilment of the obligations of membership. In essence, this means an inquiry as to whether the new government exercises effective authority within

the territory of the State and is habitually obeyed by the bulk of the population."

"If so, it would seem to be appropriate for the United Nations organs, through their collective action, to accord it the right to represent the State in the Organization, even though individual Members of the Organization refuse, and may continue to refuse, to accord it recognition as the lawful government for reasons which are valid under their national policies."

72. I apologize to the President and to the Assembly for taxing your patience with this rather long quotation from the memorandum, but I have done so only because I honestly believe that this memorandum prepared by the then Secretary-General of this Organization is of special interest and deserves particular attention from this august body. It was really unfortunate that the initiative shown by Mr. Trygve Lie was not pursued any further.

73. Another landmark in the long history of this question of the representation of China in the United Nations appeared during the fifth session of the General Assembly in 1950, which had on its agenda the general question of recognition by the United Nations of a Member State. The deliberations of the Assembly on this item led to the adoption of resolution 396 (V). This resolution is very relevant to our purpose because, to the best of my knowledge, it is the only United Nations resolution of the kind which sets out in clear terms directives regarding the proper procedure to deal with a situation where we have two rival parties claiming the same seat. The preamble of the resolution deals with the difficulties that "may arise regarding the representation of a Member State in the United Nations", and also suggests that by virtue of its character and composition the General Assembly is the only organ of the United Nations suited to deal with matters such as those that affect the very function of the United Nations. I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the two main operative paragraphs of this resolution which contain the specific recommendations. Operative paragraph 1 recommends that:

"...whenever more than one authority claims to be the Government entitled to represent a Member State in the United Nations...the question should be considered in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and the circumstances of each case".

Operative paragraph 2 states:

"...when any such question arises, it should be considered by the General Assembly, or by the Interim Committee if the General Assembly is not in session".

74. Operative paragraph 2 of the resolution is explicit on the point that the issue should be considered by the General Assembly. May I humbly plead that the request for the inscription of the item of Chinese representation is in conformity with the decision taken by the General Assembly in 1950, and I would even venture to say that if the Assembly rejects the request for the inscription of this item it will be going back on its own earlier decision.

75. Those who have over the years consistently opposed the inclusion of this Indian item have always sought to shelter behind operative paragraph 1 of resolution 396 (V), according to which the question should be examined in the light of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter. Let us see what the Charter stipulates. According to Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter:

^{2/}Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, Supplement for 1 January through 31 May 1950, document S/1466.

"Membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

76. I do not wish to enter into the merits of this question at this stage except to the extent I think it necessary to justify the inscription of this item on the agenda. Let us be clear in our minds. This is not the question of the admission of a new Member State. China is a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, having the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Charter clearly states in Article 3 that the Members of the United Nations shall be States, thereby making it quite obvious that membership in the United Nations has nothing to do with any particular Government which might have been in authority at any particular time. My contention is that only a Government that has effective control in the territory of a State can represent it in the world body. From all evidence it has become clear that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the only Government whose sway extends over the entire Chinese mainland.

77. The other argument against the inclusion of the item of the representation of China is sometimes based on the words "peace-loving States" in Article 4 of the Charter. It has often been argued that the Government of the People's Republic of China is not peace-loving and hence should be disqualified from membership in the United Nations. We firmly hold the view that the internal form and structure of government and its policies are not relevant to the purpose of the representation of a particular State in the United Nations. Have not so many aggressor nations of yesterday already become the respected Members of the United Nations? Are there not among Member States some whose internal systems of government show, in effect, scant regard for fundamental human rights and the dignity of the individual? The view that the Government that exercises effective government within the territory of the State should not be excluded from this Organization is shared by many other Members of this Organization. The representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will not only carry it a big step forward towards its goal of universality but will enable the United Nations to deal more effectively with so many international problems that seem to threaten the peace of the world. In our opinion, the more the United Nations reflects the real situation in the world outside, the more effective it becomes as an instrument for conciliating and resolving the differences between nations.

78. Of the eighty-two Member States of the United Nations, as many as thirty-three recognize the Government of the People's Republic of China, and many more have started trade and cultural relations with that country. I mention this only to show how the prestige of this Organization will be undermined if year after year moratorium resolutions are passed here merely with a view to avoiding a discussion of this question. I have already stated that a large number of the countries of the world have already recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China. It is heartening to find that, even in countries the Governments of which have espoused the cause of the so-called Nationalist Government and utterly disregarded even the legitimate claims of the Government of the People's Republic of China, there has been in recent years a remarkable growth in

the volume of public opinion favouring a revision of their Governments' policy towards this question. Indeed regard it as a highly redeeming feature of the situation and shall in this connexion refer particularly to the opinions expressed in the United States by people in authority as well as prominent citizens. A summary of the views of retired United States foreign service officers was prepared for the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and, though anonymously published, for obvious reasons, these views find a place in a State document none the less and carry weight on their own. Samples of the opinions of these retired diplomats are as follows:

"Our non-recognition of Communist China based on moral considerations is in the last analysis a self-denial of opportunities to progress in that area." ^{3/}

"It is nevertheless patent that we cannot for an indefinite period continue our present attitude towards Communist China. We shall have to accommodate ourselves to the situation there just as we eventually did with respect to the Soviet Union, even though it took fifteen years to get around to it." ^{4/}

"We cannot afford to continue to play the ostrich in dealing with China. We cannot afford to continue the pretence that Formosa is China and that the Chinese Government with full control over 600 million people is a negligible quantity." ^{4/}

"It is recommended that we return to our traditional policy of recognition as rapidly as we may find it possible to do so. American interest has gained little and has suffered much as a result of our present policy in this respect. It is when we thoroughly disapprove of a Government, when we have reason to fear the intentions of that Government, when we are faced with the hostility of that Government to a point just short of war—in other words, when we have to face a Government like the present Government of China—that diplomatic relations are most important. We should not only recognize the Chinese Government, but we should send to China the ablest Ambassador in our service."

"It is clear, with respect to Communist China, that we have chosen to ignore the fact that this régime does actually and effectively control the entire mainland of China as well as many offshore islands, including the sizable island of Hainan." ^{5/}

"However, it should be noted that these reasons for a policy of non-recognition can hardly be described as logical, because we have in fact recognized a number of other Communist Governments, as well as totalitarian Governments, who have equally indulged in blood baths and who have cruelly mistreated their people." ^{5/}

79. Senator Engle of California, while making a plea for revision of the United States policy towards China, only recently on the floor of the United States Senate had some interesting observations to make, some of which are listed below. Senator Engle of California said on that occasion:

^{3/} Study of United States Foreign Policy, Summary of Views of Retired Foreign Service Officers prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, 15 June 1959 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 75.

^{4/} Ibid., p. 76.

^{5/} Ibid., p. 77.

"...this China policy is based on a reaction to the past, rather than a calculated look into the future... We cannot dispose of the reality of Communist China through either a wall or a vacuum between us. The reality of China will still exist... Congressman Chet Holifield, of California, a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and one of the leading experts in the country in the atomic energy field, recently stated in a nation-wide television programme that an international inspection system for the purpose of detecting nuclear testing would be ineffectual without some kind of an arrangement whereby inspection could occur on the mainland of China." ^{6/}

80. In the continuation of the same debate on the floor of the United States Senate, Senator Clark of Pennsylvania had the following to say:

"...if we are to come to any meaningful agreement with respect to the suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons, we dare not ignore China." ^{7/}

81. For a change let me refer to the opinion of the President of the International Olympic Committee. Mr. Avery Brundage announced in Munich on 28 May 1959 that that organization had almost unanimously voted to expel the Nationalist Chinese from the Olympic Committee on the grounds that it no longer represented sports in the entire country of China. While accused of having come under pressure from the Communist Nations, Mr. Brundage declared, "The action was practically unanimous and it was purely a common sense decision, not political in any sense of the word." A common sense decision by the General Assembly of the United Nations is all that is required to solve this question. May I add that Mr. Brundage's opinion will be largely shared by many people in America who are proverbially said to base their actions on common sense decisions in every phase of their national life and activity.

82. Mr. Finletter, former Secretary of the United States Air Force, in the course of his address to a World Order Study Conference sponsored by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America said, as reported in The New York Times, 20 November 1958:

"We had better stop talking about disarmament and indeed about peace unless we are willing to abandon the attitude that the recognition of Red China is something which we will never accept under any conditions."

83. Let us look at the views of some of the respected Western statesmen and publicists other than those of the United States on the question. Mr. Edgar Faure, former Premier of France, had this to say after visiting China for a few months, as reported in The Nation, 23 May 1959:

"It is necessary to develop relations of every kind, economic and cultural, with China. Our attitude of resistance and refusal produces a result quite the contrary to what we wish... China must be helped to accomplish her modernization, for only that modernization can bring her closer to us economically and politically."

84. The Labour Party and the Liberal Party in the United Kingdom seem to favour strongly the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. Mr. Bevan, when he spoke in the House of Commons on 30 October 1958, voices and leaves no doubt of the feelings of quite a large section of the British people on this question of China. I am quoting Mr. Bevan's speech as reported by Hansard:

"We get into a difficulty which arises as a result of not permitting China to join the United Nations, not allowing her to join the family of nations and thus being unable to make arrangements with the Chinese without appearing to do so as a surrender to force."

"We have got into a terrible situation. When we are attacked by Honourable Members opposite for taking this apparently pro-communist line, I must say that our view that the Chinese should be represented in the United Nations is shared by the vast majority of the American people themselves. The American Democratic Party takes our view, and a very large number of Republicans take our view. I have not been able to understand how it is that the policies of the White House have not more closely adjusted themselves in the circumstances to what is known to be the point of view of large numbers of American people."

"How long can that continue, because international relationships are being poisoned by this situation? How can we continue to keep 650 million people outside the comity of nations? How can we hope to get peace in the world when we behave in that way? We are supposed to recognize Communist China, but in the United Nations itself we do not assist in the recognition of China. On the contrary, the other day we gave our vote to postponing consideration of the matter for another year. This is not peace-making, and I am certain that it does not accord with the wishes of the British people." ^{8/}

85. My purpose in quoting at length from these statements is to give this audience an idea of the state of public opinion in the United States and in Western Europe on the question of the representation of China. It has been contended that this item should not be inscribed in the agenda because it is a highly controversial one and might lead to acrimonious debates. This argument on the face of it appears to be naïve when we take into consideration that all items discussed here year after year are controversial and generate a certain amount of heat and passion when they come up before the Assembly. But let us not forget that the United Nations' was founded to try and solve these controversial questions. The primary function of the United Nations is to bring about a settlement of these controversial problems. I should like to add here that the United Nations cannot achieve a lasting and peaceful settlement in the Far East and Southeast Asia without the participation of the People's Republic of China in it.

86. Another argument against the inclusion of this item has been that it is not well-timed. Those who put forward this argument have in mind the disturbing events in our part of the world during the past year. But here I would like to submit most respectfully that this is an argument which can be used more in favour than against the inscription of this item in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly. I have

^{6/} Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 86th Congress, First Session, vol. 105, No. 82, pp. 7877-7879.

^{7/} Ibid., p. 7879.

^{8/} Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), 5th series, vol. 594 (London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1958), p. 341.

already hinted that our Organization can be more effective in reducing tensions and achieving peaceful settlements only if the parties involved are properly represented here, or in other words, only when the United Nations is made to reflect the existing reality in the world outside. For these reasons and because such important aspects of the question of disarmament, like the suspension of nuclear tests and the prevention of surprise attack, cannot be settled without the participation of China, I plead that there could not be a better time for the discussion of this question of the representation of the People's Republic of China than at this session. Edgar Snow, in his article "China: the Ghost at the Summit", published in The Nation on 23 May 1959 makes the following statement:

"Would it be in American interests, or against them, to be able to test the stability of the People's Republic [of China] through observers on the spot? To our advantage or disadvantage to meet China directly when disputes arose between us? Would it be 'good' or 'bad' for us to be able to hold China's representatives to account before a world council in the case of situations endangering world peace—the potentials of the Sino-Indian dispute over the Tibetan rebellion, for example—rather than for China to remain legally unanswerable to a United Nations Organization which excludes it?"

87. To those who think that recent events in our part of the world make it ill-timed for the item to be inscribed in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, I would simply say that the preceding quotation and most of the opinions which I have cited in the foregoing paragraphs are subsequent to those events in Southeast Asia that seem to cause concern. To dispel their doubts on that account, I would like to remind them of the words of Mr. Krishna Menon, the leader of the delegation of India. In the General Committee he said [121st meeting], that the events in that part of the world have no relevance to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

88. Disarmament is the primary function of the United Nations. The success or failure of the Organization depends largely on the extent of the progress made in the field of disarmament. The Geneva talks which began more than ten months ago gave us reason to hope for an early and effective cessation of nuclear tests. However, it is only too apparent that no effective solutions of problems related to disarmament can be achieved without the co-operation and participation of China. In this connexion I would like to refer to the exchange of views between Senator Humphrey and Mr. Robertson, who until recently was Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East in the State Department. In the course of hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee Mr. Robertson said:

"It is my opinion, my personal opinion, that any system that has been agreed upon, and that we are satisfied is operable and foolproof, if it is to effectively protect our security interests it must include the world."

Senator Humphrey intervened to ask, "That would mean it must include the mainland of China?" and Mr. Robertson replied, "That is right." That quotation will speak for itself.

89. It now only remains for me to say that the passage of moratorium resolutions on an important question such as this will merely serve to aggravate the world

situation which is already tense for some nations in Southeast Asia.

90. Before I leave this rostrum may I in all humility and sincerity address an appeal to the great Powers, and especially to the United States of America on whom so great a responsibility rests? The question we are dealing with at the moment is not the question of accepting or rejecting a procedural amendment. The question is one of excluding from or bringing under the beneficent and efficacious influence of the activities of the United Nations 640 million people of China. Apart from the moral and humanitarian considerations involved, the question has attained dimensions which are of great consequence to the people of the world. I beg to submit that the sooner we face the consequences of public debate in such a vital matter as this the better it will be for all concerned. With this purpose in mind, I urge the adoption of our amendments by the General Assembly. After all, the People's Republic of China has become a factor in international life and politics which can no longer be ignored except at very great peril to the stability and peace of the world. As far as we are concerned, recognition of the People's Republic of China is not merely the question of the recognition of a fact in international life but of a living reality that exists on our northern border. Sooner or later the representatives of the People's Republic of China will take their rightful place in this hall. Let us not shy away from realities that have to be faced some day. I have no doubt in my mind that the facing of this reality will enhance the prestige of the United Nations. Let the United Nations do justice to itself and to the 640 million Chinese people.

91. It is in this hope that my delegation once again appeals to the representatives of the Member States assembled here to lend their support to the amendments we have submitted to the draft resolution contained in paragraph 7 of the first report of the General Committee. I reserve my right to intervene in the debate once again should it be found necessary.

92. Mr. ROBERTSON (United States of America): The General Committee has recommended the following resolution to the General Assembly:

"The General Assembly

"1. Decides to reject the request of India (A/4139) for the inclusion in the agenda of its fourteenth regular session of the item entitled 'Question of the representation of China in the United Nations';

"2. Decides not to consider, at its fourteenth regular session, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China." [A/4214, para. 7]

The United States welcomes this recommendation. We are confident that the Assembly will uphold it as it has done in the past.

93. We also have before us amendments [A/L.261] to the draft resolution, submitted by the representative of Nepal, which would have the effect of completely reversing the recommendation made by the General Committee. Similar amendments have been put forward in years past, and the United States will oppose them.

94. A number of delegations have made it clear to us that they would appreciate a frank restatement by the

United States of the basic reasons for its position. We are glad to make such a statement.

95. While the item proposed by India is phrased in terms of the "representation of China", the basic purpose is to seat Communist China in China's seat in the United Nations and to expel the representatives of the Republic of China. The many shocking events in which Peiping has been the principal actor in the past year have caused many people to hope that this question would not be pressed at all at this session of the General Assembly. However, since it is being pressed, the United States intends to proceed with complete candour.

96. The United States is opposed to the seating of the Chinese Communists in the United Nations. We would be opposed even if we did not recognize the Republic of China as the legitimate Government of the Chinese people. We base our objections upon the Charter, which must be our guide in all basic questions affecting the United Nations. There are certain Charter provisions which so clearly apply to the present case that I quote them as a universally accepted standard by which to judge this question.

[The representative of the United States read paragraph 1 of Article 1 and paragraph 1 of Article 4 of the Charter.]

97. Many of you here today were in San Francisco in 1945 when the United Nations was founded. You will remember that in the organizational meetings it was exhaustively debated whether membership should be based upon universality or whether there should be qualifications for membership. It was decided that, as a primary purpose of the United Nations was "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," universality was not to be the test of membership. There must be qualifications for membership. A member must be peace-loving and willing to take collective action to maintain international peace and security. The Soviet Union at that time strongly supported this view. And so Article 4 was adopted.

98. Now, is Red China a peace-loving nation? Let us examine the record.

99. In February 1950, scarcely two months after establishing its régime on the mainland, Peiping issued a call to the peoples of Southeast Asia to overthrow their Governments, denouncing their leaders as puppets of the imperialists. Before the year was out, it had invaded Tibet. Before the year was out it had also invaded Korea. Communist China sent 1 million soldiers to reinforce and prolong that aggression against the Republic of Korea and against the United Nations. Because of that act, the General Assembly, in February 1951, voted overwhelmingly to find Peiping guilty of aggression. That United Nations resolution [resolution 498 (V)] is still outstanding. Red China is still defying it.

100. The result is that the Korean War has given way only to an uneasy cease-fire in which the United Nations forces must daily patrol an armistice line 150 miles long, a line which is constantly threatened by half a million battle-ready Communist troops.

101. Final settlement in Korea has been blocked by Chinese Communist insistence at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China and its continuing insistence that the United Nations committed that aggression in Korea

and therefore is without moral authority or competence to supervise general elections for the unification of the country.

102. Nor can we forget other Chinese Communist actions in Korea. They committed many atrocious acts against thousands of prisoners of war of the United Nations Command. They visited indescribable destruction, suffering and death on the Korean people. Through months of cruel and degrading treatment, they forced dozens of our men to sign outrageous fabricated confessions about imaginary acts of germ warfare—all in order to feed their insatiable machine of hate propaganda.

103. Once the armistice was signed, they immediately and continuously violated it by bringing jet aircraft and large quantities of other weapons into Korea. Moreover, for six years, the Chinese Communists have obstinately refused to honour their obligations under the Armistice Agreement of 1953 to provide a satisfactory accounting of those military personnel of the United Nations Command still missing and unaccounted for at the end of the hostilities. They include 2,147 men of several nations, of whom 452 are Americans. In their own Press and radio, the Communists once acknowledged holding many of these men. By refusing to account for them, they defy not only their armistice pledge but the accepted practice of civilized nations, causing needless bitter anguish to the families concerned.

104. In the Taiwan Strait, Communist China has been using armed force intermittently since 1950 in order to seize Taiwan, the Pescadores and the offshore islands and to destroy the Republic of China. Twice, in 1954-1955 and again in 1958, it raised its acts of violence to such a pitch as to bring the spectre of general war to the Far East.

105. Continuously since 1955 the United States, in ninety ambassadorial talks with Chinese Communist representatives, has sought to have them sign a reciprocal agreement to renounce the use of force in the Taiwan Strait. This principle is fundamental to the Charter of the United Nations. The Red Chinese stubbornly refuse to make any such agreement.

106. In 1955, the Chinese Communist régime rejected with contempt an invitation from the United Nations Security Council ^{2/} to discuss the crisis it had caused in the Taiwan Strait. Last year, it again asserted that it would not countenance reference of the matter to the United Nations. To this day it is continuing, on an alternate-day basis, its bombardment of the offshore islands. Its Defence Minister has described the philosophy of this policy in these words:

"Ours is a policy of fight-fight, stop-fight, half-fight and half-stop. This is no trick but a normal thing."

107. In Southeast Asia the record is also one of aggressive pressure. For many years the Chinese Communists have given material support and propaganda encouragement to rebellions seeking to overthrow the Governments of the Philippines and Malaya.

108. In North Viet-Nam, the Chinese Communists have been actively assisting the régime in reorganizing and training Viet-Minh troops, greatly increasing the strength of their divisions and supplying them with

^{2/} Official Record of the Security Council, Tenth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1955, document S/3358.

arms and equipment prohibited by the Armistice Agreement.

109. In Laos, a troubled area with which the Security Council is now concerned, the hand of Peiping is again visible. The Communist rebellion against the Royal Lao Government is supported chiefly through Communist North Viet-Nam, a régime which owes its existence in large measure to Chinese Communist efforts. The Geneva agreements of 1954 acknowledged the sovereignty of the Royal Lao Government over all Lao territory, including the provinces of Sam-neua and Phong-saly, then under the military control of the Communist-dominated Pathet Lao. However, the Communist puppet troops refused to turn over the administration to the Royal Government and forcibly held these positions, seeking additional political concessions, which they finally obtained in 1956.

110. The sudden attacks in Laos last month came on the heels of a lengthy visit to Communist China by Ho Chi Minh, Chief of the North Viet-Nam régime. All along, Peiping has kept its radio propaganda machine in high gear to support the Communist rebels, issuing dire warnings against those who dare to help the Government of Laos in its time of need.

111. I turn now to the tragic case of Tibet. In nine years, beginning in 1950, the Chinese Communists have destroyed Tibet's historic autonomy, enjoyed since the fall of the Manchus in 1911. It has massacred thousands of the Tibetan people, and attempted to stamp out their ancient Buddhist faith.

112. As all representatives know, the most recent act in this tragedy began last March when the Chinese Communists summarily dissolved the Tibetan Government and established a so-called Tibet Autonomous Region in which the word "autonomous" is mere camouflage for a colonial despotism. The Dalai Lama, the spiritual and temporal leader of his people, in danger of his life, succeeded in escaping with his followers despite Communist attempts to hunt him down. Ever since that date, the Chinese Communists have been carrying on ruthless war against the Tibetans, have done their best to seal off all escape by those seeking refuge abroad, and have even pursued refugees across international frontiers.

113. As a sequel to this Tibetan outrage, we learn that Chinese Communist troops are making territorial encroachments across the frontiers of other States and principalities in the Himalayan region. We learn that their official maps show as Chinese large areas long regarded by other States as their territory. And, characteristically, in the midst of these encroachments, the Chinese Communists make charges of aggression against the very countries whom they offend.

114. All along the borders between Communist China and non-Communist Asia there is trouble and discord. From Korea south and west along the 6,000 mile arc that ends in the Himalayas, we find a history of Chinese Communist complicity in military aggression, subversion and outright seizure of territory. That history, as just noted, has been tragically extended during the past year and, indeed, the past few weeks.

115. By these many acts against neighbouring nations, the world has begun to find out what the ruler of Communist China, Mao Tse-tung, meant when he wrote in 1938:

"Every Communist must grasp the truth that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. . . . In this sense we can even say that the whole world can be remolded with the gun."

And likewise we grasp the meaning of Liu Shao-chi, now the titular head of Communist China, who once wrote:

"The most fundamental and common duty of Communist Party members is to establish communism and transform the present world into a communist world."

116. Within mainland China itself, the Communist authorities have committed many uncivilized acts against foreign nationals and their citizens. They have arrested hundreds of Christian missionaries and killed many religious leaders. They have imprisoned hundreds of foreign civilians, including 158 Americans, of whom five died as a result of maltreatment in prison. They today hold five of my fellow citizens in gaol as political hostages—despite a public pledge, now four years old, to permit all Americans to return home expeditiously. Chinese Moslem minorities have suffered similarly, with countless numbers imprisoned for "carrying on counter-revolutionary activity under the cloak of religion".

117. Hand in hand with these policies has gone a continuing and systematic hate campaign against so-called "imperialist enemies". By massive poisonous propaganda against foreign countries the Chinese Communists have sought to instil warlike and hostile feelings against them in the hearts of the Chinese people. My own country has been the most prominent target of this organized hatred, but many other countries represented in this body have been subject to it as well. Thus, like many another tyranny before it, Communist China has found foreign devils to blame for the sufferings which it inflicts on its own people.

118. Such are the facts of Communist China's conduct. Some of these events have occurred in the past year and have never before been faced by the General Assembly. But these new facts simply corroborate a conclusion which my country's late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, once stated in these words:

"The United Nations has a choice of whether or not to bring into its membership, and to veto power on the Security Council, a régime which has flagrantly defied the United Nations; which has fought it; which has been found an aggressor; and which far from being 'peace-loving'—the test for membership—has 'persistently violated the principles contained in the Charter'—which is the test for expulsion."

119. I should like to deal with certain arguments of a different kind which from time to time are made here.

120. We sometimes hear it said that Communist China is indeed guilty of gross violations of the Charter, but that admitting its representatives to the United Nations would tend to remedy its behaviour by exposing the régime to new ideas and influences. Further, it is even urged that unless the Chinese Communists are admitted here there is a greater danger of war because—so we are told—no other place exists in which to negotiate with them.

121. The United States cannot accept these arguments. As to the influence of new ideas which the Chinese Communists might encounter here, I leave it to those with diplomatic missions in Peiping to judge for them—

selves what effect they are able to exert today on the international conduct of Communist China.

122. I would only point out that the Chinese Communists came here to the United Nations once, in the winter of 1950-1951, and displayed an attitude of arrogance and bitter hatred; and that they have since been invited to take part in particular deliberations here and have declined to do so. Their vicious attacks on the United Nations in their propaganda demonstrates how they would interpret the principles of the United Nations were they seated in its councils. There is not the slightest evidence that they would abate their aggressive policies. All the evidence suggests, rather, that they would gain new influence and new opportunities to subvert the purposes of the Charter and to pervert this great Organization to their lawless ends.

123. Now let us consider the argument that there is no place except the United Nations in which to negotiate with the Chinese Communists. My own country has negotiated with them over the past eight years: at Panmunjom, in Geneva and in Warsaw. We have negotiated with them about Korea, about Indo-China, about the prisoners whom they unlawfully detained, and about the Taiwan Strait. The lack is not of a forum for negotiation, but of a willingness on the part of the Chinese Communists to settle any important question, except by causing the opponents to surrender.

124. Finally, it is often stated by Red China's supporters that refusal to seat this régime in the United Nations denies representation in this world body to 600 million mainland Chinese. In view of the long record of aggressions and threats of war by the Peiping régime, this argument would have no validity even if it were true. However, as a matter of fact, the fanatical aggressive rulers of Peiping come no closer to representing the will and aspirations of the Chinese people than they come to represent the will and aspirations of the Tibetan people or, for that matter, than the puppet régime of Budapest comes to representing the will and aspirations of the Hungarian people. The Peiping régime was imposed by force and fraud with the volition of only a small fraction of the Chinese people. It has kept itself in power by bloody purges and by the liquidation of some 18 million mainland Chinese in nine years.

125. Within the past year the Chinese Communist authorities have imposed a brutal commune system, destructive of all family life, upon 120 million families, according to their figures. I submit that no régime representative of its people would have to resort to wholesale murder, and a mass slavery unparalleled in the history of the world, in order to keep itself in power.

126. The United States has carefully weighed these arguments. We find them based not on "reality", as is sometimes alleged, but on futile hopes, groundless fears, and wishful thinking. We rest our argument, instead, on the solid facts of history and the solid principles of the Charter.

127. By every standard of national and international conduct, the Red régime of Peiping is an outlaw. It has perpetrated mass murder and slavery upon its own people. It has confiscated without compensation hundreds of millions of dollars of the property of other nationals. It has thrown foreign citizens into gaols without trial and subjected many of them to inhuman tortures. In nine years it has promoted six foreign

or civil wars—in Korea, Tibet, Indo-China, the Philippines, Malaya, and Laos. It has fought the United Nations. It has been found by it to be an aggressor. It continues to defy the United Nations decision to reunify Korea [resolution 376 (V)]. It has flagrantly violated the Korea and Indo-China international armistice agreements. It openly proclaims its continuing purpose, to use force in the Taiwan Strait.

128. We invite all representatives to compare the record of Communist China in international affairs with the standards set forth in the Charter. We believe they will overwhelmingly conclude, as we do, that the Chinese Communist régime has acted, and is acting still, not to maintain but to destroy international peace and security; not to remove but to create threats to the peace and acts of aggression; not to develop friendly relations among nations but to sow hatred of other countries. In this centre for harmonizing the actions of nations, we believe it would contribute only discord and dishonour. By the same standards we hold that the Republic of China, a stalwart ally against the forces of aggression in World War II and a reliable comrade in the cause of peace, is entitled to the seat it occupies here today both under Article 3 of the Charter and by reason of its consistent support for the Charter's principles.

129. The Republic of China is recognized as the legitimate Government of China by a substantial majority of the countries of the world. It is true that the Peiping régime does now exercise physical control over a much larger area of Chinese territory than that under the control of the Republic of China. However, this situation represents a military rather than a political reality. The Republic of China has repeatedly stated its willingness to rest its claim to represent the Chinese people on the result of free elections held throughout the country. The Communist military dictatorship of Peiping does not dare to submit its claim to any such test.

130. I conclude. The issue here is simple. The proponents of seating Red China are not demanding that Red China change its ways. Some of them—I refer to the Soviet Union and its satellites—even have the effrontery to laud the Peiping régime on the floor of this body for its so-called contributions to peace and stability in Asia. And I must add in all candour that the representative of India, whose Government admits many of the indisputable facts of Red China's record, when he insists on this item, is in effect insisting that the United Nations modify its standards in order to accommodate the power of lawlessness.

131. The question therefore is: Shall we stand fast and require conformity to United Nations standards, or shall we take the step—the truly irrevocable step—of debasing the standards of the United Nations to allow this or any other régime to shoot its way into the United Nations simply because its guns are powerful?

132. My Government believes that there is only one possible answer: The standards of the United Nations must prevail. It is our belief in those standards which binds us together as a community of nations and makes the United Nations an effective force for peace. To seat in this body, founded to maintain the peace of the world, a habitual offender against the peace, would make a mockery of our Charter and rob it of all the moral authority it now possesses.

133. The representative from Nepal referred to the opinions of a few American diplomats who favoured American recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations. I noted that he failed to note the many which wholly disapproved of this policy. I would take very little research on his part to discover that the overwhelming majority of the American people support the United States policy of non-recognition and non-admission of this régime to the United Nations.

134. The last time the question of United Nations admission was submitted to the United States Congress was in the election year of 1956. These election years, as you well know, are critical years in American political life. The vote on the resolution opposing the admission of Red China to the United Nations was 391 to none in the House and 86 to none in the Senate. In other words, in an election year there was not a single Congressman or Senator of either party who was willing to vote against that resolution.

135. And that was not all. The two parties went on to their political conventions and both of them adopted almost identical planks reaffirming United States opposition to the seating of Red China in this body. Mr. Eisenhower was elected on that platform. Mr. Stevenson was nominated on a platform which included that same provision. The last time that Congress expressed its opinion on this problem was on 17 August of this year, when a resolution in the House was passed by the overwhelming vote of 368 to 2. I hope that the amendments proposed by Nepal will not prevail, and that the report of the General Committee will be approved.

136. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): Once again the question of the representation of China in the United Nations has been brought before the General Assembly. Although the substance of the matter is already being discussed—and it is very good that it is being discussed—in the view of my delegation, however, the substance is not before the General Assembly at this stage. Therefore I shall confine my remarks to stating the position of my delegation on the draft resolution recommended by the General Committee [A/4214, para. 7] and the amendments proposed by the delegation of Nepal [A/L.261].

137. Our stand has been made quite clear on this matter in past years. I would merely state that this stand remains unchanged. Last year, in presenting the views of my delegation, I referred to this problem as one that had attracted and was increasingly attracting world public opinion. That was the concern of a great number of Members of the United Nations, and moreover was a question that should not be denied the consideration it deserved. The draft resolution recommended by the General Committee, in the view of my delegation, is a denial of such consideration. It does not consider the right of a Member State to propose the inclusion of an item on the agenda of the General Assembly for discussion.

138. We cannot support the denial of this right on principle as the United Nations is a place for peaceful negotiation and discussion of all international problems, particularly such problems the solution of which depends solely upon the United Nations. The draft resolution does not explain in any way the reason for the desirability of rejecting this item.

139. As the request of the delegation of India did not ask for the exclusion of the representatives of the

Government of the Republic of China, paragraph 2 of the draft resolution is obviously completely out of place. Thus the second amendment introduced by the delegation of Nepal is correct in proposing the deletion of this paragraph, and it will have the support of the Afghan delegation.

140. We also support the first amendment proposed by Nepal which calls on the General Assembly to "accede to" the request of a Member Nation for a discussion of an international problem.

141. Since the substance of the matter is not under discussion at this stage, I should like to refrain from going further into it at the present time. If the amendments of the delegation of Nepal receive the approval of the Assembly, we will support the draft resolution. If the amendments are rejected, however, we should like our vote on this draft resolution to be recorded as being against the recommendation of the General Committee.

142. Mr. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana): My Government has always maintained the universality of the United Nations ever since the "package deal" of 1955, and we have not failed to emphasize the fact that membership of our Organization must be open to all independent nations. We do not believe that the United Nations should be an exclusive club from which those States Members which we here may not happen to like at the moment are barred.

143. The question of Chinese representation has been placed on the provisional agenda year after year for several years. On each occasion this Organization has been placed in a farcical position by its inability even to discuss the problem. Each time, resolutions have been adopted by the Assembly—against its better judgement, we think—to postpone a discussion of this question. To us, the attitude which some delegations have always adopted in preventing the General Assembly from discussing the merits and demerits of this question is quite unrealistic.

144. We cannot ignore the existence of China with its 650 million people. Already, during the general debate, mention has been made of Tibet and Laos. We have been told of trouble brewing in these parts of the world. It has even been suggested that these questions should be brought before the Assembly for discussion. But how are we going to discuss these problems when the only alleged partner to these disputes is not allowed in the Assembly?

145. It has also been mentioned that China's aggressive tendencies make it unfit to become a member of this Organization. There, too, we ask: How can these tendencies of a nation which is outside this Organization be curbed? My delegation is strongly of the opinion that the admission of China into our fold will augur well for the standing and the future of this august Organization.

146. There are great issues, such as the amendment of the Charter, which we have been unable to tackle because of the absence of China. We believe that it is not right or just to exclude any country from participation in the United Nations merely because we here do not agree with its form of government. If this were to be the principle, then our membership would be much smaller than it is at present.

147. It is regrettable that for so many years our Organization has appeared to the rest of the world to be oblivious to the great historical developments that

have taken place around us. I sincerely hope that this year the General Assembly will see fit at least to discuss the question of Chinese representation. The discussion of international problems and their peaceful solution is one of the main reasons why we meet here every year, and it is unrealistic to assume that certain subjects can be discussed and others completely ignored.

148. In line with the policy of my Government, therefore, my delegation will support the amendments proposed by Nepal and supported by Afghanistan.

149. Mr. AIKEN (Ireland): I should like to explain the precise considerations on which the attitude of my delegation in regard to this matter is based.

150. This Assembly is, above all, a place of discussion, a forum in which major international problems are debated. The more important a problem is, the more reason is there for it to be discussed here. And no one would minimize the importance of the question of the representation of China.

151. It has been argued that this is an issue on which feeling runs so high that no useful purpose would be served by discussing it. My delegation finds it hard to accept that argument. We are not here to discuss matters on which we are all in agreement. Any major problem tends to arouse high feeling; any problem that contains a threat to peace will, by its very nature, arouse the most intense feelings. Yet these, we submit, are the very problems that we are here to discuss: problems which deeply divide nations and which, therefore, involve dangerous possibilities of conflict. And quite a number of such problems exist in the Far East. There is, for example, the division of Korea, the denial of civil and religious liberty by the Peiping Government, the state of war between Peiping and Taiwan, the ruthless oppression in Tibet—and now the dangerous tension in Laos, and the attempt by Peiping to determine the northern boundary of India by force.

152. This debate does not, of course, lend itself to a constructive and decisive discussion of all these problems and I have no intention of going into them in any detail. Perhaps I may be permitted, however, since it has an obvious bearing on the proposal to discuss the representation of China at the present juncture, to express the feelings of abhorrence and reprobation which the actions of the Peiping Government in Tibet have aroused in my country.

153. While we in Ireland reject all ideologies which deny civil and religious liberty, we bear no enmity to the Chinese people. Indeed, we have much admiration for the Chinese people and their ancient culture. We have always sympathized with their sufferings at the hands of foreign powers. The devoted labours of Irish missionaries in China symbolize Ireland's friendship for the Chinese people and our interests in their welfare. We recognize that the bitter feelings aroused in China by foreign aggression and exploitation were bound to leave a spirit of violence as an aftermath. But, in our view, past wrongs done to China cannot excuse, even in the slightest degree, the persecution of religion in China, the aggression in Korea, the brutal crushing of Tibetan autonomy, the expulsion of the religious leaders of the Tibetan people, or the use of force on the Indian border.

154. We believe that the people of China, in accordance with their own best traditions, would wish their

Government to practise the principles of tolerance and neighbourly relations enshrined in the Charter. It is our hope that the evolution of events, inside and outside China, may be such as to permit the peaceful aspirations of the Chinese people to exert a growing influence over the actions of their Government. We think that that hope is most likely to be realized through a growing relaxation, rather than through an intensification, of international tension.

155. Unfortunately actions like that of China in Tibet and on the Indian border contribute in a very serious way to the intensification of international tension. Those of us who have devoted our efforts here to liquidating the last remnants of imperialism and to upholding the rights of small and defenceless peoples to liberty and the peaceful settlement of disputes, must condemn these actions of the Peiping Government.

156. The delegation of Ireland has, in this Assembly, consistently condemned all infringements of human rights, wherever they have occurred and whatever state or group of states has been responsible for them. Any attack upon human rights anywhere in the world is, in our view, an attack upon human rights everywhere and, most specifically, upon the human rights of small and defenceless peoples. We therefore keenly resent that, at a time when the United Nations is working earnestly and successfully to put an end to colonial exploitation and to redress past injustices elsewhere in the world, fundamental human rights should be violated and set at naught in Tibet. It is right and necessary that the principles of the Charter and the spirit which by and large informs this Assembly in these matters should be made clear to the Peiping Government. We feel this strongly, and therefore for our part we would think it fitting that these views should find expression in an appropriate resolution at this session of the Assembly.

157. The Irish Government has taken no decision on the question of the representation of China—which is not before us—but it holds strongly that it is the duty of the United Nations to do what it can, through discussion and negotiation, to win acceptance for the principles of the Charter in China and to secure self-determination for the people of Korea. If a proposal were before the Assembly at this moment to accept the Peiping Government as representing China, my delegation would advocate that, before any substantive decision was taken, a United Nations effort should be made through negotiation to secure from the Peiping Government an undertaking to refrain from using force against any of their neighbours, to give religious freedom to the Chinese people, and to allow the people of all Korea to decide their destiny in an internationally supervised election.

158. We submit that the Assembly should, through discussion, attempt to bring to light any possibilities of a peaceful solution of such problems. In some previous cases where grave, grave crises existed, evoking very strong feelings indeed, this Assembly's discussions and moral influence led to constructive peaceful solutions. That was the case with Suez in 1956 and with the Lebanon last year. A discussion of the question of Chinese representation might also bring out constructive suggestions and exercise a healthy influence, leading to negotiations and the peaceful settlement of the related problems. And even if it did not, the Assembly would have fulfilled its Charter duty by

discussing in a constructive and orderly way a situation which is dangerous to peace.

159. In conclusion, may I say that the collective action for the settlement of disputes which is envisaged in the Charter presupposes a basis of agreement, and agreement cannot be found without discussion. In other words, without free, full and orderly discussion the Assembly cannot fulfil its most important function. That function is to carry with us the informed and active goodwill of reasonable men in a position to influence policy—reasonable men, wherever they may be, who like to hear all sides of a case, to think out political problems for themselves, and to back their convictions with word and deed.

160. In the case of the Far East problems which I have mentioned, that function cannot, we feel, properly be discharged by this Assembly without a fundamental discussion of the critical question of representation in this Organization.

161. Such a discussion—not a formal and inconclusive confrontation of rigidly opposed views, but a careful deliberation leading to a generally accepted constructive solution—cannot take place unless this item is inscribed on our agenda. For that reason, my delegation will vote for the amendments proposed by the delegation of Nepal.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

